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ABSTRACT

A person with a synthesized multicultural identity is one that holds positive attitudes toward Chicano and Anglo cultures, functions competently in both cultures, feels accepted by members of both cultures, and possesses a transcendent philosophy of life and world view. Although societal institutions have historically stressed assimilation to the mainstream American middle class, a different philosophy has begun to emerge. Cultural pluralism, or "cultural democracy", permits the individual to retain identification with his own culture as he identifies with other cultures in American society. Individuals comfortable with a number of cultures are particularly needed as leaders today. Research with bicultural Mexican Americans in California and Texas has shown such people to possess flexibility in learning styles, human relational styles and incentive-motivational styles. A study on the leadership behaviors exhibited by monocultural and multicultural college students in mixed ethnic groups under conditions of conflict indicated leaders with high multicultural experience to be particularly effective. Such individuals were less autocratic and more democratic than their low multicultural experience counterparts. They also were more accurate in reporting what had actually transpired in their groups and accepted more readily the responsibility for their group's action. This document also describes the development of the Flexibility, Unity and Expansion Model of Acculturation and an instrument for assessing multiculturalism in Mexican Americans. (DS)

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CULTURAL DEMOCRACY AND THE MULTICULTURAL PERSONALITY: EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP FOR A DIVERSE SOCIETY

Inaugural Lecture — October 9, 1979
Manuel Ramirez III
Oakes College
University of California at Santa Cruz

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I. Introduction

A. Tonight I would like to review research which my colleagues and I have been doing for the past 10 years on the relationship of multiculturalism or multicultural orientations to life to flexibility in personality, interethnic skills and leadership in mixed ethnic groups.

1. I have had a long-standing interest in multiculturalism—partly because I am Chicano or Mexican American and partly because I was reared in an area of the country in which there is extensive interaction and exchange between three cultures.

2. Those of us who have lived in this area—the border area of South Texas—jokingly refer to ourselves as the people whom General Santa Anna sold to the U.S. at the end of the U.S.-Mexican War.

3. As Mexican-Americans we find ourselves caught in the middle in this area of the Southwest. Our friends and relatives in Mexico call us "pochos" and some Anglos do not accept us — we are sort of like people without a country, but not really, because

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we have always referred to this area of Texas as "la patria chica"— the small nation. The folklorist Americo Paredes of the University of Texas has done extensive documentation of the history and folklore of this area. In recent years there has been speculation that this area was the site of the first nation of the Aztecs, one established before they moved on to the Valley of Mexico — so we may be citizens of a nation that dates to the time of the Aztecs.

4. Be that as it may, this is an interesting area in which to study the development of multicultural orientations to life. Like many other areas of the country in which many members of minority groups live, it is fertile ground for development of multiculturalism. I'm of course referring to places like Harlem in New York, the Mission District in San Francisco, East Los Angeles, Chicago, the Santa Fe-Taos area and southern Colorado. In these areas there is constant interaction of different cultures such as Black, Mexican American, Mexican, those of other countries of Latin America, Asian American, Native American, Puerto Rican, Cuban and cultures of white ethnic groups.

5. In our research we have hypothesized that being socialized amid the diversity reflected in multicultural environments encourages development of multicultural orientations to life.

6. We have further hypothesized that these culturally diverse environments encourage development of interethnic skills which will be needed by the leaders of the future. Skills such as sensitivity to the diversity of others, to the diversity of sociocultural environments, sensitivity to social cues, cultural

facilitation and mediation, and flexibility and adaptability to different conditions of life. We feel that multicultural persons are the leaders that we need for the future, because so many of our national and international problems revolve around diversity. Referring to important international problems we are facing, in a recent newsletter to voters of the 16th District, Congressman Panetta observes: "WE LIVE IN A WORLD THAT IS RAPIDLY SHRINKING AS THE TECHNOLOGIES OF COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION GROW MORE ADVANCED, AND AS THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS IN OUR EVERYDAY LIVES BECOMES INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT. UNLESS THIS NATION FINDS WAYS OF IMPROVING ITS KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES, WE WILL BE PLACING A SEVERE HANDICAP ON OUR ABILITY TO UNDERSTAND, INFLUENCE AND REACT TO WORLD EVENTS." At the national level, sociologist Robert Michels has expressed great concern over the diverse constituencies in the country, stating: — "DEMOCRACY AND LEADERSHIP ARE INCOMPATIBLE. THE NATION'S PLURAL INTERESTS THREATEN TO TURN OUR COUNTRY INTO A SET OF INTERNAL BALKAN STATES, INTO HOSTILE TRIBES." My colleagues and I disagree with these conclusions. We're not yet ready to throw in the towel on democracy, but we do feel that the times call for multicultural leaders.

II. North American Western European World Views and Assimilation Pressures on Members of Minority Groups

Now it seems reasonable to assume that if we have a great need for multicultural leaders in our country, American societal

institutions would encourage those among our citizens who already have a head start in that direction;

A. historically, however, institutions in American society and specifically, educational institutions have encouraged assimilation to the mainstream American middleclass—in this respect they have reflected a North American/Western European World View — the belief that cultures that are not North American or Western European are inferior — for example, Latin America, African cultures, as well as cultures of Southern and Eastern Europe are believed to be primitive, undeveloped, under-developed.

1. Under the North American/Western European World View:

a. focus has been turned toward difficulties, problems and negative consequences of dual and multiple cultural membership;

b. bicultural and multicultural persons have been described as culturally deprived, disadvantaged, apathetic, pathologically maladjusted and torn by conflict;

c. the push by American societal institutions has been to assimilate members of minority groups to what is believed to be the superior sociocultural system of the mainstream American middleclass.

(1) The North American/Western European World View has been more clearly reflected in the practices of educational institutions and is well expressed in the writings of many American educators. An example is E. P. Cubberly who, by the way, has the education building at Stanford named after him. Cubberly

described the immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe as docile, illiterate, and as lacking in self-reliance and initiative. He wrote as follows concerning the goals for immigrant parents and their children: "EVERYWHERE THESE PEOPLE SET UP THEIR NATIONAL MANNERS, CUSTOMS AND OBSERVANCES. OUR TASK IS TO BREAK UP THESE GROUPS OR SETTLEMENTS, TO ASSIMILATE AND AMALGAMATE THESE PEOPLE AS PART OF OUR AMERICAN RACE, AND TO IMPLANT IN THEIR CHILDREN, AS FAR AS CAN BE DONE, THE ANGLO-SAXON CONCEPTION OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, LAW AND ORDER, AND OUR POPULAR GOVERNMENT, AND TO AWAKEN IN THEM A REVERENCE FOR OUR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND FOR THOSE THINGS IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE WHICH WE AS A PEOPLE HOLD TO BE OF ABIDING WORTH."

(2) In the history of the social sciences, in the United States, the North American/Western European World View has been expressed as the damaging-culture view—the theory that the culture and values of members of minority groups are the ultimate and final cause of the low economic status and low academic achievement of members of these groups. Specifically it has been assumed that minority cultures interfere with the intellectual development of children. This belief served as the basis for compensatory educational progress, such as Head Start, Title I, and the Parent Child Development Centers.

(3) Most detrimental to the efforts of encouraging development of multiculturalism among members of minority groups in the United States was the fact that the North

American/Western European World View was reflected in models of acculturation developed by social scientists which my colleagues and I categorized as Conflict/Replacement. The assumptions of these models are as follows:

(a) The sociocultural systems and life styles of different ethnic groups are so opposed to each other that they create conflict for the person who participates in more than one group;

(b) These conflicts result in problems of adjustment such as identity crises and split personalities;

(c) In order to achieve a happy and successful psychological adjustment the person must reject the minority culture and embrace the mainstream American middle-class.

This first slide shows a picture of the view of acculturation from the perspective of the Conflict/Replacement Models.

SLIDE #1: (See Appendix) — These are linear models since growth is believed to occur only in the direction of mainstream American culture. Multicultural development is not possible under these models, therefore, these are models of assimilation and not of acculturation.

III. The Civil Rights Movement, Cultural Democracy and the Mestizo World View

A. With the advent of the Civil Rights Movement a different philosophy regarding diversity began to emerge in American society. This is commonly referred to as cultural pluralism — my colleagues and I prefer the term "cultural democracy."

1. The concept of cultural democracy has a long history being introduced by two scholars, Berkson and Drachsler, in the 1920's — at that time principal concern in the country was whether members of minority groups would fuse with the majority or decide to remain separate — the choice of whether to assimilate or remain separate, Drachsler felt, should be added to the older American ideas of political and economic democracy and should be referred to as cultural democracy.

2. Together with Alfredo Castaneda and other colleagues, I have elaborated on the concept of cultural democracy—we have defined it as the individual's moral and legal right to remain identified with his or her original culture as he or she participates in, and learns to identify with, other cultures in American society. We assume that society and its institutions reflect cultural democracy when policies and practices show respect for cultural diversity and for individual differences.

B. As the concept of cultural democracy was being introduced by Berkson and Drachsler in the United States, a world view on acculturation different to the North American/Western European was emerging from the unique experience of cultural confluence in Latin America—this is the Mestizo World View. The term "mestizo"

is given to persons and cultures representing the amalgamation of Hispanic and native American cultures and traditions. The writings of two Mexican scholars have contributed to the basic assumptions of the Mestizo World View — Jose Vasconcellos, philosopher/educator, and Leopoldo Zea, who is a social historian at the UNAM.

The basic tenets of the Mestizo World View are the following:

1. Cultures, sociocultural environments and people represent a richness in diversity from which everyone can learn.

2. By adding the knowledge and experiences of people who have grown up in different cultures and environments, the perspective and behavioral repertoires of a person can be enhanced.

3. These expanded repertoires make the person more flexible and adaptable to differnt life situations and socio-cultural systems.

IV. Recent Research on Members of Minority Groups in Different Parts of the World Have Given Support to the Mestizo World View:

A. For example, McFee, working with American Indians living in bicultural reservation communities, has found that contrary to expectations, there is no substitution or replacement of Indian behaviors and skills with those of mainstream American culture. Instead there is expansion of behaviorial repertoires making for greater flexibility of behavior and for the ability to participate competently in both Indian and mainstream American cultures. McFee titled his article "The 150% Man."

B. Lambert and his colleagues studied French-English bilinguals in the province of Quebec, in Canada—they found no evidence of replacement of one language with another as persons became bilingual, instead, they observed expansion of verbal repertoires making for greater mental flexibility; they also found that balanced bilinguals scored significantly higher on tests of intelligence and were developed in more areas of cognitive ability than monolinguals.

C. Fitzgerald, doing research with Maoris in New Zealand, found that his subjects shuttled a great deal between Maori and European cultures. He also observed a flexibility of identity—he concluded that these bicultural peoples have a cultural identity which is Maori and several social identities which are both Maori and European.

D. We have done extensive research with bicultural Mexican-Americans in California and Texas and have observed flexibility of personality in these subjects. Specifically, we found flexibility of learning styles (ability to do well on tasks requiring both cooperation and competition, they also performed effectively in learning situations requiring both discovery and modeling), flexibility of human relational styles (can establish close, personal relationships or can engage in more formal, consultant type interactions with teacher), and flexibility of incentive-motivational styles (work equally diligently for social and non-social rewards)—we labeled this personality

flexibility cognitive flexibility or bicognition. We also demonstrated abilities to communicate and to mediate between different ethnic groups.

V. The Mestizo World View and the Research Findings I Have Just Reviewed Contributed to the Development of a Model of Acculturation Which We Have Titled The Flexibility, Unity and Expansion Model.

A. The basic assumptions of the model are as follows:

1. Acculturation is continued growth and development in the person's original culture as well as in the lifestyles and values of other sociocultural systems he or she participates in.

2. Growth and development take place in different life domains of the different cultures the person interacts with (for example, at the same time, a person may be developing in the familial domain of one culture, the educational domain of another and the work domain of still another.)

3. Growth and development in different cultures and in different domains within cultures provides the person with personality building elements which make him or her more flexible, adaptable and understanding of others and thereby more able to participate in different sociocultural systems.

4. The personality building elements which the person acquires from different cultures have the potential for uniting to develop multicultural patterns of behavior, multicultural perspectives, transcendence and a multicultural orientation to life.

This next slide provides a picture of our Flexibility, Unity and Expansion model of acculturation.

SLIDE #2: (See Appendix) — The focus of our most recent research is on the leadership behaviors exhibited by monocultural and multicultural college students in mixed ethnic groups under conditions of conflict.

B. Our first task in this leadership research was to develop instruments for identifying people who were multicultural and for assessing degree of multiculturalism in these subjects.

1. The first step was to observe and interview Mexican American college students who had been judged to be multicultural by peers and authority figures who knew them well. From this information we developed items for an inventory which we labeled the Mexican American Multicultural Experience Inventory. The items on this instrument can be grouped into three major categories:

a. ethnographic background and socialization experiences;

b. extent of participation in different ethnic groups and interpersonal experiences with people of different ethnic groups;

c. and finally, evidence of sociocultural skills.

This next slide shows some sample items from the Mexican American Multicultural Experience Inventory (MAMEI).

SLIDE #3: (See Appendix) — There are five choices which the person can make in responding to each item; these answers indicate whether he or she has a predominant Mexican-American, Anglo or multicultural orientation.

C. Psychohistory for Assessing Multiculturalism in Mexican Americans (PAMMA)

1. While the MAMEI provided us with a global picture of multiculturalism, a life history interview which we developed provided a detailed, intensive look at multicultural personalities: the development patterns exhibited and the ways in which multicultural identities were expressed behaviorally.

2. These psychohistories ranged from one hour and thirty minutes to two hours in length and they focused on five different life periods — preschool, elementary, middle, high school and college. Questions centered around themes such as language learning and usage, family and community life, school experiences, peer relations, relationships with authority figures, political behavior, religious orientation, life crisis experiences, identity crises, sociocultural identity, perceived advantages and disadvantages of Anglo, Mexican American and other cultures, degree of comfort experienced when participating

in Anglo, Mexican American and other cultures, preference for ethnic background of marriage partner, philosophy of life and career goals.

3. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and scored on several variables. From these scores we identified five different historical development patterns or paths of development of multiculturalism. These are shown on the next slide.

SLIDE #4: (See Appendix) — HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT PATTERN

We also were able to identify different contemporary multicultural identities. Our multicultural subjects varied considerably from one another in their contemporary identities. These ranged from almost exclusively Chicano or Anglo to thoroughly multicultural (strongly identified with Mexican American and Anglo cultures), often times with other cultures as well and expressing a transcendent philosophy of life.

The different Contemporary Multicultural Identities are shown in this next slide.

SLIDE #5: (See Appendix) — CONTEMPORARY MULTICULTURAL IDENTITY

VI. Leadership Behavior in Mixed Ethnic Groups

A. Once we had developed instruments for identifying multiculturals and for assessing degree of multiculturalism, we were ready for the next step—to study leadership effectiveness in mixed ethnic groups.

B. Our hypothesis for this study was that persons who are more multicultural would use more effective behaviors to get a group composed of members of different ethnic groups to reach consensus of opinion under conditions of conflict.

C. Effective leadership behaviors have been described as including the following:

1. Permitting all group members to express their opinions;

2. Giving equal status to opinions expressed by each member;

3. Clarifying opinions expressed by individual group members as necessary;

4. Being assertive without being authoritarian;

5. Attempting to mediate between members;

6. Personalizing relationships with the members;

7. Seeking compromises or intermediate solutions.

D. Group sessions:

1. The procedure for the group session was as follows: Three students, a Black, an Anglo, and a Mexican-American were selected and trained to assume each of three roles involving a pro, a con and a fence-sitting position on a controversial problem

dealing with the preservation of the cultural integrity of a hypothetical non-industrialized society. The problem as it was presented to the subjects was as follows: Contact has been made with a traditional society in which mortality rates and malnutrition are high, but the people have a very supportive and cohesive family life and religion. Should we intervene, offering advantages of technology in food production and health care, or leave them alone? The subjects were Mexican American male college students from either Texas or California who had been identified as being either high or low on multicultural experience. Degree of multicultural experience was determined by the MAMEI and the PAMMA. The subjects were assigned to be coordinators for the four-person groups, although it appeared that they were selected by chance.

2. The procedure was as follows:

a. The coordinator was instructed to do everything possible to get his group to achieve consensus on the controversial problem.

b. Each member of the group read a summary of the problem. The group then had 20 minutes for discussion; exchanges between the confederates holding the con and pro positions were very heated.

c. Fifteen minutes into the discussion the student playing the fence-sitter role switched to either the pro or con position, leaving one member of the group who was in disagreement.

This member maintained his opinion, so the group never achieved consensus.

d. Then, after the group session had been completed, the coordinator was interviewed by an experimenter. The group sessions were tape-recorded as well as observed in order to rate the coordinator on the leadership behaviors.

Results: Data showing differences in leadership behaviors between high and low multicultural experience subjects are summarized in this next slide:

SLIDE #6: (See Appendix) — LEADERSHIP BEHAVIORS OF SUBJECTS WITH HIGH AND LOW MULTICULTURAL EXPERIENCE

As you can see, the findings show that leaders with high multicultural experience were more effective in most of the criterion behaviors.

Leaders with high multicultural experience:

1. Were more active and assertive;
2. They asked members for their opinions, evaluations and feelings more often;
3. They clarified statements made by members more often;
4. They acknowledged contributions made by members more frequently;
5. They more often made attempts to clarify the issues under discussion;

6. They assessed group progress more frequently;

7. They tended to mediate more between the members;

8. They sought more compromises or intermediate solutions;

9. They were more likely to address members by their names;

10. They showed less evidence of tension and less tendency to joke and laugh inappropriately.

On our ratings of general leadership style: leaders with high multicultural experience were less autocratic and laissez faire and more democratic than their low multicultural experience counterparts.

E. Results of the post-group interviews showed that:

1. Leaders of high multicultural experience were more accurate in reporting what had actually transpired in their groups, the actual group process—59% of the high multiculturals were accurate while only 37% of the low multiculturals were accurate.

2. When asked to speculate as to why their group had failed to achieve consensus in the alotted time, the high multicultural subjects stated they would most certainly succeed if given a second chance and 53% of these subjects gave self responsibility attributions—that is, "I should have worked harder on the person who couldn't make up his mind," or "I should have asked the two members who were arguing to try to assume each others' points of view." In contrast to this, 69% of the low multicultural leaders gave other directed responsibility

attributions, that is, they said things like, "the members are too stubborn to ever agree with each other," or "they just can't get along with each other."

VII. Conclusions

A. Our ultimate objective is to train people to use effective interethnic leadership skills which lead to less alienation and greater understanding in conflict situations in mixed ethnic groups. However, training in multiculturalism is extremely difficult, thus, the need for all societal institutions who are involved in the socialization of our citizens to reflect the ideas of the Mestizo World View and of cultural democracy in their policies and practices.

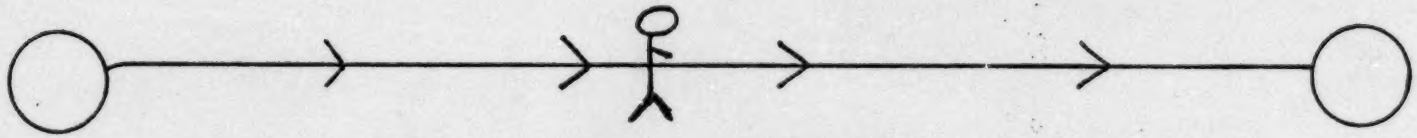
B. Our life history research has established that early socialization and life experiences are of great importance in encouraging development of multiculturalism. Also important are parental and teacher attitudes toward diversity in people and in sociocultural environments. It is important to give children the message that they can learn from everybody.

C. Our findings show that education experiences are crucial—meeting and interacting with people of different ethnic groups and socioeconomic backgrounds while at the same time maintaining close ties with people of the original group leads to a multicultural orientation. Also important is placing the person in a position in which he or she can teach others about

culture and language and having an opportunity to interact with adults and peers of different backgrounds and ethnic groups early in life under conditions of mutual cooperation and equality of status.

We hope that our government will eventually recognize the potential for multicultural leadership which exists among those citizens who have become multicultural and multilingual in order to survive in the exclusivist atmosphere in which they had had to live. In a recent speech at Berkeley, the writer James Baldwin expressed this view: "I SUGGEST THAT WHAT THE RULERS OF THIS COUNTRY DON'T KNOW ABOUT THE WORLD WHICH SURROUNDS THEM IS THE PRICE THEY PAY FOR NOT KNOWING ME. IF THEY COULDN'T DEAL WITH MY FATHER, HOW ARE THEY GOING TO DEAL WITH THE PEOPLE IN THE STREETS OF TEHRAN? I COULD HAVE TOLD THEM IF THEY HAD ASKED."

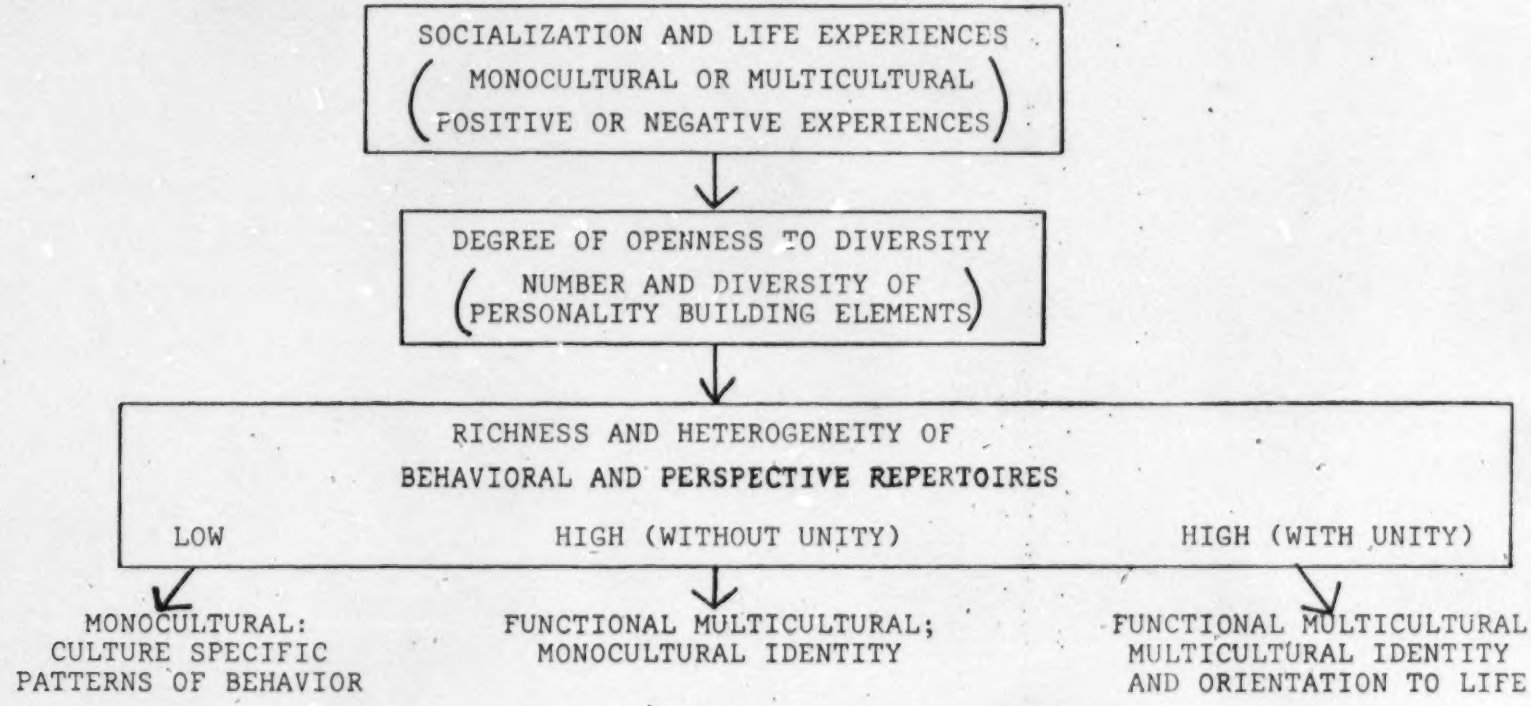
CONFLICT/REPLACEMENT MODELS OF ACCULTURATION



MINORITY CULTURE — MEMBER OF MINORITY GROUP — MAINSTREAM AMERICAN CULTURE

(maximum conflict, identity crises) — decreasing conflict — (healthy adjustment and secure identity)

FLEXIBILITY, UNITY AND EXPANSION MODEL OF ACCULTURATION



SAMPLE ITEMS FROM THE
MULTICULTURAL EXPERIENCE INVENTORY

In high school, my close friends were:

____1. All Chicanos
____2. Mostly Chicanos
____3. Chicanos and Anglos, about equal
____4. Mostly Anglos
____5. All Anglos

The people with whom I have established close and meaningful relationships have been:

____1. All Chicanos
____2. Mostly Chicanos
____3. Chicanos and Anglos, about equal
____4. Mostly Anglos
____5. All Anglos

When I am with my friends, I usually attend functions where the people are:

____1. All Chicanos
____2. Mostly Chicanos
____3. Chicanos and Anglos, about equal
____4. Mostly Anglos
____5. All Anglos

When I discuss personal problems or issues, I prefer to discuss them with:

____1. All Chicanos
____2. Mostly Chicanos
____3. Chicanos and Anglos, about equal
____4. Mostly Anglos
____5. All Anglos

When I write poetry or other personal material, I write in:

____1. Spanish only
____2. Mostly Spanish
____3. Spanish and English, about equal
____4. Mostly English
____5. English only

SLIDE #4

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT PATTERN

Parallel	Extensive and continuous exposure to Mexican-American and Anglo cultures beginning in preschool period or before, and continuing for at least two more life periods
Early Chicano/Abrupt Anglo	Extensive, almost total exposure to Mexican-American culture in the first two or three periods of life followed by sudden immersion in Anglo culture
Early Chicano/Gradual Anglo	Extensive, almost total exposure to Mexican-American culture throughout all life periods with gradually increasing exposure to Anglo culture as subject becomes older
Early Anglo/Abrupt Chicano	Reverse of Early Chicano/Abrupt Anglo
Early Anglo/Gradual Chicano	Reverse of Early Chicano/Gradual Anglo

SLIDE #5

CONTEMPORARY MULTICULTURAL IDENTITY

CONTEMPORARY MULTICULTURAL IDENTITY	DEFINING CHARACTERISTICS
Synthesized Multicultural	Positive attitudes toward both Chicano and Anglo cultures; competent functioning in both cultures, feels accepted by members of both cultures; "transcendent" philosophy of life and world view.
Functional Multicultural/ Anglo Orientation	Functions competently in both Chicano and Anglo cultures; more comfortable in Anglo culture.
Functional Multicultural/ Chicano Orientation	Functions competently in both Chicano and Anglo cultures; more comfortable in Chicano culture.

SLIDE #6

LEADERSHIP BEHAVIORS OF SUBJECTS WITH HIGH AND LOW MULTICULTURAL EXPERIENCE

LEADERSHIP BEHAVIORS IN MIXED ETHNIC GROUPS	HIGH M.E. MEAN (N=15)	LOW M.E. MEAN (N=21)	F
more active and assertive	5.53	3.29	3.12 $p<.09$
asks members for opinions, evaluations, feelings	13.40	11.14	1.65
clarifies statements of members	3.20	1.65	2.47 $p<.13$
acknowledges contributions of members	1.80	.67	2.96 $p<.09$
clarifies issue under discussion	2.93	2.05	2.76 $p<.11$
assesses group progress	1.33	1.00	1.21
mediates between members	2.13	1.14	2.75 $p<.11$
seeks compromise or intermediate solution	1.87	1.52	
addresses members by their names	2.67	.57	5.92 $p<.02$
shows tension, jokes and laughs inappropriately	* .53	.81	
general leadership style:	41% autocratic 24% democratic 18% laissez faire	58% autocratic 10% democratic 21% laissez faire	

*NOTE: a low score on this variable indicated a more favorable leadership behavior.